

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF TRIP TO
INDONESIA BY NORMAN FREED, COMMUNIST
PARTY OF CANADA REPRESENTATIVE TO
THE "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW," PRAGUE,
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, JANUARY, 1964

are the Peoples Republic of China and North Korea. The Soviet Union, in Aidit's opinion, was not building socialism but only building capitalism and would someday fully revert back to capitalism.

When asked why the Soviet Union was in his opinion building capitalism and not socialism, Aidit gave the following as examples for his reasoning.

When he was in Moscow recently, he needed a shirt and went out and had to pay 35 rubles for it. Later when in New York City and needing a similar shirt, went out and purchased it for \$3.50. The shirt he purchased in New York City was a better quality. The Russians wanted to make more profit than the United States capitalists did on this same item. Then when in Sochi, USSR, for a rest, Aidit found individual Russians who had apartments and were renting out rooms. This is also capitalism. In addition, the peasants in the Soviet Union have private plots of land from which they can sell their product. This again is capitalism. Then in the Soviet Union they also have embezzlers and the trials and convictions of these people prove that there is capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Aidit then expressed his conception of the three types of Communist Parties in the world today. First he stated there are the Communist Parties of China, Albania, North Korea, and Indonesia, which are definite Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties. Secondly there are the Communist Parties with Marxist-Leninist membership, but with a revisionist leadership. Finally there are those Communist Parties whose leadership as well as its membership are all revisionist. Into this category falls the CP of the Soviet Union.

Aidit then followed with the theory that communism cannot be built in the world today as long as imperialism continues to exist anywhere. To attempt to build communism under such conditions, he noted that you must necessarily do

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so at the expense of the more backward nations. Those countries which try to build communism, with the existence of imperialism in the world, will become "rich, fat cats" at the expense of the backward countries and will lose their revolutionary spirit.

Aidit noted that he agreed with the CP of China theory that it is best not to build up a country's abundance while surrounded by imperialism because you will lose that revolutionary spirit. Even, he noted, if you could build communism with imperialism still existing, it would require an accumulation of capital. Even if this could be done, it should not because this accumulation should be given to the building of the more backward nations. In Aidit's opinion, you have only to look at the Soviet Union where there has been built a higher standard of living and you will find that they have lost their revolutionary fervor.

On the question of birth control, Aidit indicated that his Party was not worried about this subject. The more people we have, he remarked, the better off we are. What is the difference if they are cut down with a hoe or a rifle in hand.

As to his personal observations during the tour of Indonesia, Freed remarked there was much that he saw which was shocking. For example, when you walked into villages, you saw people starving. A person 30 years of age is considered old. In some villages, half of the population is blind and suffering from glaucoma.

Throughout Indonesia, one can readily see numerous signs of the survival of feudalism. Landowners still live like lords with most of the peasantry being poor and working for mere existence. Throughout the country there is also much evidence of capitalism though in most cases it is still in its very primitive stages.

The money situation in Indonesia is deplorable. The official rate of exchange for the rupiah is 45 to a United States dollar, but the tourist rate of exchange is 450 rupiahs

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to one dollar. Even with the tourist rate of exchange for the dollar, the cost of living is almost impossible. Since they had only limited funds of their own, Freed and his Bulgarian partner went to the Bulgarian Embassy in Jakarta. Here they were told to go to the Soviet Embassy and these people would undoubtedly allow them to stay in their own hotel, enabling them to save some additional funds. For money, the Bulgarian Embassy offered to exchange 1650 rupiahs for each dollar they had.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

57

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE
Date: 3/18/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

wjv

*C
A
P*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

*Bl...
Sub...*

On 3/17/64, NY 694-S* furnished the following information to SAS JOHN DENNIS O'CONNELL and ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON:

DONOR 718

On 3/17/64, pursuant to arrangements previously made with his Soviet contact on 3/5/64 (see NY airtel 3/6/64, P. 2, Par. 1), NY 694-S* met ALEKSEY KOLOBASHKIN and VLADIMIR CHUCHUKIN in the stairway on the 15th floor of the informant's office building at 50 Broad Street, NYC. KOLOBASHKIN delivered to NY 694-S* a black-oversized attache case, -stating that the said bag contained the sum of \$150,000.00, in \$20.00 bills. Pursuant to previously made arrangements, as reflected in the referenced airtel, NY 694-S* gave KOLOBASHKIN a similar-type bag, which was empty. (The SN's on the above-mentioned bills, which NY 694-S* made available to the NYO, will be checked against lists of currency issued to Soviet establishments in NYC and Washington, D. C., and if identified, the Bureau will be advised to that effect.)

1-808RB

- 3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
- 1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub-B) (AM-RM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 105-36402 (ALEKSEY-M. KOLOBASHKIN) (341)
- 1 - NY 105-45740 (VLADIMIR-A. CHUCHUKIN) (341)
- 1 - NY 100-84994 (68-102) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-31 P7+8

*Bureau pp 5+6
Fob... p 7
LINT...*

w. p. ... 7+8

ACB:msb
(11)

*M. ...
3-20-64, WLS/pwd.*

100-428091-3723

MAR 23 1964

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

65 APR 2 1964

[Handwritten signatures and stamps]

NY 100-134637

After giving NY 694-S* the attache case, KOLOBASHKIN stated that he wished to contact NY 694-S* at 6:00 p.m. on 3/18/64 at the "Dann" rendezvous to give the informant "two important letters" to be transmitted to GUS HALL. NY 694-S* agreed to meet KOLOBASHKIN as the latter requested.

NY 694-S* then gave to KOLOBASHKIN a roll of microfilm containing several messages, some ciphered, some coded, and some in plain text. The plain text of these messages is as follows:

(1) A ciphered message which was as follows:

"CPSU

"HALL conveys to you our warm thanks for heeding our call of proletarian solidarity. Thank you for your speed in expediting this matter. This should help our situation and our work immensely.

"MORRIS CHILDS"

To clarify the above message, NY 694-S* made the following, partially coded, addendum to the said message:

"Thank you for the money."

(NY 694-S* advised that the above ciphered message was an ~~expression~~ expression of thanks to the Soviets for having promised to send funds to the CPUSA.)

(2) A ciphered message as follows:

"CPSU

"The following is being rushed to you with all possible speed. HALL asks whether acknowledgment and answers can be transmitted by radio.

"BROOKS"

NY 100-134637

(This message concerns an outline of a speech delivered by HALL to a CPUSA National Board meeting held on 3/6/64, copies of which were furnished to the Bureau with NY airtel 3/13/64.)

(3) A partially coded message in explanation of above-mentioned outline, as appears on page 2 of NY airtel 3/13/64.

(4) A ciphered message as follows:

"CPSU

"HALL seriously working on important article on the theme of CP unity and the need for international solidarity as against the splitting and divisive tactics of the Chinese CP. Will hand to you via closed channels the outline when completed with no loss in time."

(It will be noted that this message refers to the outline which informant submitted to KOLOBASHKIN. The informant included this ciphered message to indicate to the Soviets that he had used a definite number of ciphers. He added a partially coded addendum to this message as follows: "Disregard this. Did not anticipate having HALL's outline available for you at this time.")

(5) A partially coded message as follows:

"CPSU

"We wish to thank you for your rapid information regarding the convocation of a meeting of CP's. However, HALL is of the opinion, as is our entire National Committee, that those who favor postponement are only giving time to the splitters. We do, however, understand your position and attitude on the heeding of the request for postponement requested by some fraternal parties.

"MORRIS CHILDS"

NY 100-134637

(6) A partially coded message as follows:

"CPSU

"HALL and I convey our heartfelt thanks to you for your invitation to receive 20 comrades for medical treatment and rest in the Soviet Union for this year. We hope that circumstances will make it possible to fulfill this invitation. As you know, we are still involved in the maze of the Mc Carran Act repressive litigations ~~and~~ at this moment and this makes it very difficult for our leading comrades to travel.

"MORRIS CHILDS."

(7) A partially coded message as follows:

"CPSU

"I wish to call attention to error I have been making in referring to EUGENE DENNIS, JR., when actually it should be TIMUR TIMOFEEV. This is in reference to the last message which I sent you. Corrected message should read: What happened to TIMUR TIMOFEEV's book 'Program of the CPSU and the West.' We were led to understand that this matter would be given consideration, and we would receive it to study with possible publication if it proves useful.

"MORRIS CHILDS"

(NY airtel 3/6/64, on page 5, last par., contains the following message: "What happened to TIMUR TIMOFEEV's book, 'Program of the CPSU and the West,' etc." It does not reflect the error which the above message intends to correct. The informant has been confusing the code names for EUGENE DENNIS, JR., and TIMUR TIMOFEEV (TIMMY DENNIS).)

NY 100-134637

(8) A partially coded message as follows:

"CPSU

Poland NY Calif.
"Please transmit to the Central Committee of the Polish Party *Ill.* the following biography of RUTH BAHARAS. This she wrote herself as you will note, but we have checked it most carefully and the facts listed are so. Based upon this it is O.K. for the Polish Party to accept this as a transfer to them from the CPUSA.

"(Dated March 3, 1964 ^{*aka*}
National Committee, CPUSA)"

Ruth Teiser
Ruth Teiser

(The above refers to RUTH BAHARAS, Bufile 100-336776, NY file 100-67336.)

The following plain text message, which is a letter addressed to GUS HALL by RUTH BAHARAS:

"February 12, 1964

"I would like to take a transfer from the American Party to the Polish United Workers Party.

"I have left the USA in 1958 to join my husband, who had been deported for political reasons, and received asylum in Poland.

Born August, 1922
"My political history is as follows: *NY*

I am 42 years of age, born in NYC, was a member of the Young Pioneers and YCL from the age of 14 to 20, at which time I joined the CP, the Stuyvesant Branch, which had headquarters on 2nd Ave. and 19th Street. I don't remember who recommended me to the CP. I know the following Party members in NYC who will verify my membership: JESUS COLON, EVE WIENER, GEDALIAH (GEORGE) SANDLER.

"My political activity was approximately as follows:

I was a rank-and-file member when I first joined the Party in 1942. Then I was active during the war: I worked at the American Airlines, where I helped to organize the workers into the Transport Workers Union. In 1950 I taught Yiddish at the Jefferson School; in 1953 I was active in the Tenants Council on the East Side, on Second Ave.

NY 100-134637

"and 7th Street, among the Porto Rican people. In 1954 I began work with the NY Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as administrative Secretary. In 1955 I was sent to Chicago, helping out at first, and later being elected as Executive Secretary of the Midwest Committee. My last club at which I was attached in Chicago was in the Near North Side. References are: ELMER JOHNSON, DICK CRILEY, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, JUDITH MILLER.

"It was my understanding that I was given a transfer from the American Party, since it was known then that I was preparing to leave for Poland as soon as I would obtain a visa. The death of my father in Los Angeles compelled me to leave Chicago and in the one and a half years stay in Los Angeles and NYC I was not attached to any branch.

"In Poland I assumed that I would be contacted and notified about a transfer, but nothing happened. I asked to be admitted and was told that a transfer was necessary. Last year I made an effort to obtain a transfer by giving the above information to BEATRICE JOHNSON, who told me that she was going to Cuba.

"Additional data:

I worked in the Business Office of the Morning Freiheit and Daily Worker for four years, in the years of 1939-1943. I worked in the Jewish Fraternal Order, as secretary to REUBEN SALTZMAN, then General Secretary of the JFFO, in 1947 through 1953, when the Order was dissolved. The names under which I was known during the above period were: RUTH GEISER, RUTH HEIT and now RUTH BAHARAS. I came back to the USA in January, 1964, to see my mother and to make arrangements to take her back with me to Poland for permanent residence. I am very eager to complete the transfer of my Party membership while I am here in person, and would consider it both an honor and an accomplishment to obtain that before I leave this country. I am writing these lines in L.A. and BEN DOBBS will be able to reach a comrade through whom I may be contacted for further information or verification of facts.

"Comradely

"RUTH BAHARAS."

NY 100-134637

(9) The following partially coded message:

"CPSU

"In the month of November during the visit of a delegation from the CPSU in which Comrade VERGELIS participated, a meeting was held with a number of CP members and friends. A proposal was made by some workers in your Washington, D. C., Embassy that the pamphlet - Jews in the Soviet Union - be reprinted in the USA. The proposal also contained the promise that a corrected version of this pamphlet would be sent from Moscow. When this proposal was accepted here, certain people, amongst them MANDEL TERMAN, made contractual arrangements with printers for the publication of the up-dated and corrected document which was to come here from Moscow. Despite the numerous requests, we have not to date received this pamphlet, nor have we received a single reply to communications sent to your Washington, D. C., Embassy by the people involved. Now we have no pamphlet but do have additional debts since we are expected to fill our contract with the publisher.

"National Committee, CPUSA"

(The above message, which was sent at the request of CG 5824-S*, is referred to in CG airtel 2/20/64. MANDEL TERMAN mentioned in the above message is associated with the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.)

(10) A message in plain text as follows:

"CPSU

Russians *NY*
"It is most important that you trace the whereabouts of Comrade [redacted] also known as [redacted] who has been in Soviet Union since 1930. The last we heard from him was in 1947. We are submitting to you his last known address.

"Comrade [redacted] is the father of [redacted] and they both were working for the Communist International beginning in the year 1930. They were sent to work in the Comintern by the CPUSA at that time and were connected with the international [redacted] school. His son,

b7D

NY 100-134637

NY
[redacted] (known in the U.S.A. by his legal name [redacted])
worked for the Comintern underground [redacted] doing important
[redacted] in
England, France, Austria and Germany. At that time he was one
of the most skilled and valuable operators and worked for [redacted]
from 1930-1938, after that returning to the United States, and
in all these years, [redacted], he never
exposed himself as an open Communist. We are considering placing
him in the reserve for [redacted] in the event anything
happens to the present [redacted]

"Comrad [redacted] would like to know if his father is still alive,
where his residence may be now, or whether he died and if so, when and
where he is buried. This knowledge is most important to him. The
[redacted] school in 1930 and 1938, located in Moscow, was known
as [redacted] at that time headed by Comrade [redacted]
We do know that Comrade [redacted] after the school went out of
existence, went to work in Soviet factories and settled in the
Soviet Union. His intentions were then to remain in the Soviet
Union and not to return to the United States. To us he was always
a member of good standing in the CPUSA. This information is most
important to us and to his son since we are considering placing
Comrade [redacted] in reserve in our [redacted] in the event
anything happens to me so that our important work can continue.

"I am sure in looking into the records of Comrade [redacted] or
[redacted] as he is known to you, you will find his record as having
been with the Comintern and his valuable work there.

"J. BROOKS
3/7/64"

(With regard to the above message, see Bufile [redacted]
which concerns the development of a highly confidential source.)

which

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 3/16/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS C

Revised
Revised
JH

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for the New York Office one copy of an informant's statement captioned "DISCUSSION OF AND INFORMATION REGARDING POSSIBLE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, FRATERNAL DELEGATION TO COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA CONVENTION, MARCH, 1964."

The information appearing in the enclosed informant's statement was furnished on 3/14/64 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE and on 3/16/64 to SA HANSEN.

The New York Office is requested to furnish NY 694-S* with the location in Toronto to which the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), fraternal delegation is to report and with the identities of the individuals in Toronto with whom the CPUSA delegation is to make contact. CG 5824-S* noted that NY 694-S* should possess this information so that it can be relayed to HY LUMER, who has been designated one of such delegates.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RWH:b11
(5)

REC-28
100-428091-3724

ENCLOSURE

EX-11

MAR 23 1964

INT. SEC.

Approved: MJ/ey
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M. J. Per _____

65 MAR 27 1964

**DISCUSSION OF AND INFORMATION
REGARDING POSSIBLE COMMUNIST
PARTY, USA, FRATERNAL DELEGATION
TO COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
CONVENTION, MARCH, 1964**

During a discussion held with GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), in New York City on March 11, 1964, NORMAN FREED, a member of and CP of Canada representative to the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement, Prague, Czechoslovakia, brought up the matter regarding the possible CPUSA fraternal delegation to the CP of Canada national convention, scheduled in Toronto for late March, 1964. As a result of the discussion between HALL and FREED, the following names were suggested as CPUSA fraternal delegates: CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT of Chicago, HY LUMER of New York, CARL WINTER of Detroit, and MORRIS CHILDS of Chicago.

Specifically in regard to LIGHTFOOT, HALL noted he had previously discussed this assignment with that individual during a recent trip to Chicago and that LIGHTFOOT had agreed he would attend. As a result, HALL noted that LIGHTFOOT would be provided with the necessary details regarding his attendance at the convention.

As to LUMER, HALL noted that he had not discussed this matter with that individual, but would do so in the immediate future and inform FREED of LUMER's decision. In line with this, HALL did consult with LUMER and on March 13, 1964, sent word through MORRIS CHILDS to FREED that LUMER had agreed to attend the CP of Canada convention.

As to CARL WINTER, HALL stated that MORRIS CHILDS has been instructed to contact this individual and determine if he would be willing to attend. HALL stated that he was selecting WINTER to attend the convention as a fraternal delegate based primarily on the fact that the CP of Canada had indicated a desire that someone familiar with the situation currently existing in the auto industry in the United States be included among the delegation. WINTER, he noted, had worked in this field and is well-informed.

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-3724

In regard to CHILDS, HALL stated he felt it would be beneficial to have this individual in Toronto at the time of the convention, but that it would be inadvisable to have him openly attend any functions in connection therewith. However, CHILDS would be available for private discussions with CP of Canada leadership and while not officially attending the convention as a fraternal delegate, he would head up the CPUSA delegation.

In discussing the convention, FREED noted that there was a good likelihood that fraternal delegations from other international parties would also be present. FREED noted that among the parties that might have fraternal delegations present were France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia.

In connection with arrangements to protect the identities and activities of the participating CPUSA fraternal delegates, it was decided that special arrangements would be set up for these delegates. In this connection, it was decided that the CPUSA fraternal delegation should report at Toronto no later than March 25, 1964. Rather than report to Party headquarters, they will proceed to the office of Progress Books, 44 Stafford Street, Toronto, or to the office of the "Canadian Tribune," which is located in the same building. At this location, they were to ask for and make personal contact with any of the following individuals: MISCHA COHEN, JOHN BOYD, BILL SYDNEY. Any one of the foregoing individuals would be in a position to make all the necessary arrangements for the CPUSA fraternal delegation throughout their entire stay for the convention, scheduled March 26-29, 1964.

It was also decided that if CHILDS should come to Toronto for private discussions during the course of this convention with the CP of Canada leaders, he was to have different arrangements. Rather than report to Progress Books, CHILDS was to call the residence of LESLIE MORRIS, General Secretary, CP of Canada, and advise this individual that he is in the city. No names are to be utilized in such conversation, but MORRIS would be forewarned of the possibility of such a call and make a voice recognition of the caller. FREED then would be given the information received by MORRIS and make arrangements to meet CHILDS in the lower lobby of the Royal York Hotel in Toronto.

FOU XE

Legat, London (100-1112)

March 18, 1964

REC-44

Director, FBI (100-428091) - 3725

1 - Mr. Shaw

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 3/9/64 setting forth a request by your source in [redacted] for permission to make available to the [redacted] Bureau the contents of pages 42 through 47 of a "Top Secret" document containing the contents of a letter from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communist Party of China dated 11/5/60.

b7D

Permission is denied for [redacted] to make available any portion of our "Top Secret" document mentioned in relet to the [redacted] Bureau. You should emphasize to your source in [redacted] the strictly "Top Secret" nature of our document and the fact its contents are not to be discussed outside that Agency or further disseminated.

NOTE:

Legat, London, by letter 3/9/64 advised that [redacted] has requested permission to make available to the [redacted] Bureau (composed of top security agency representatives) for evaluation pages 42 through 47 of our "Top Secret" document. These pages deal with the economic assistance given by the Soviets to the Chinese and the reason the Soviets withdrew its technicians from China. The document was obtained by CG 5824-S* while in Moscow, Russia, in November, 1960, as a member of the delegation from the CPUSA attending the 81-Party Conference. This document was disseminated to all appropriate U. S. Government agencies, but the only foreign dissemination has been to the [redacted]. On 3/7/61, we denied permission for [redacted] to discuss contents of our document with the [redacted] Office on the grounds that further dissemination of the document could seriously jeopardize CG 5824-S*. It is felt that we should be consistent with this policy and likewise refuse permission for [redacted] to make a portion of the document available to the [redacted] Bureau.

b7D

MAILED 20
MAR 23 1964
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

WES:mlc:albh,ed
(5)
wesp

Handwritten initials and signatures: WES, WES, FBI/CS, WES

65 MAR 27 1964 TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: March 9, 1964

ewb

FROM : LEGAT, LONDON (100-1112) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS - C

Sade

ReBulet February 18, 1964.

On March 5, 1964, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that they desire to make available the contents of pages 42 - 47 of the Bureau's document to the Joint Intelligence Bureau. This is an agency similar to the National Security Council in the United States. It is composed of the top security agency representatives in England. [redacted] stated this information would be furnished to them for evaluation purposes and it will not be disseminated outside that agency.

b7D

It is requested the Bureau advise if such can be made available.

Y
39

kd 1-80810

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison Section (Sent Direct)
- 1 - London

CWB:ec
(5)

Letter Legat, London
3-18-64
WGS: mlf

REC-44

100-428091-3725

NOTED

4 MAR 10 1964

MAR 13 2 27 PM '64

MAR 10 1 27 PM '64

Memo
Bungert to Sullivan
3-16-64
WGS:scv
letter to Legat, London
3-17-64
WGS:MHJ

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
REC.D

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
REC.D

WGS
LIASON

REC-124 112, #3

FBI ROUTED ENVELOPE

Date: 3/18/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

W.P. [Signature]
Chesley
PHILIP, P3
RICH, P2-5
RICK, P5

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies of an informant's statement captioned, "Results of Visit of Norman Freed, Communist Party of Canada Representative to 'World Marxist Review,' Prague, Czechoslovakia, to New York City, March 10-13, 1964." One copy of this informant's statement is also enclosed for the New York Office.

The information appearing in the enclosed informant's statement was furnished by CG 5824-S* on 3/14/64 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN and on 3/16/64 to SA HANSEN.

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement only reflects that information concerning FREED's visit to New York which has not previously been incorporated into either letterhead memoranda or informant's statements. As a result, this statement is not a complete summarization of the total discussions held during that period with FREED.

KLEIN, P3
BLAND, P2

- 1-enc 807RB
- 1-enc 808RB
- ENCLOSURE
- REC-1345
- REC-17
- 1-Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

100-428091-3725

5 MAR 28 1964

RWH:MDW

(5)

EX 104

MAKES I
[Signature]

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge
APR 6 1964

Sent _____ M Per _____

RESULTS OF VISIT OF NORMAN FREED, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA REPRESENTATIVE TO "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW," PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, TO NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 10-13, 1964

Norman Freed, Communist Party (CP) of Canada representative to the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement, which headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia, is presently vacationing in Toronto, Canada.

On March 10, 1964, Freed traveled to New York City for the purpose of meeting with representatives of the CP, USA, and he remained in New York City until March 13, 1964, when he returned by train to Toronto, Canada. During the time he was in New York City, Freed met with representatives of the CP, USA and held private discussions with Morris Childs on March 10 and 13, 1964, and participated in a joint meeting with Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP, USA, and Childs on March 11, 1964. As a result of the foregoing meetings and discussions, the following was learned:

Prior to the return of Henry Winston, a Vice Chairman of the CP, USA, to the United States on February 27, 1964, Winston had been in contact from Moscow with Freed in Prague. At this time, Winston secured Freed's agreement to accompany him to London, England, on February 29, 1964, the date he noted he was scheduled to depart from Moscow. Winston, however, changed his plans without advising Freed and actually left Moscow on February 27, 1964. As a result, Freed was unable to accompany Winston to London, but he was able to arrive in London on that same date. Freed noted that he had attempted to see Winston at the London airport but that British immigration officials refused to allow Winston to have any visitors because he was then in a transit status and had no British travel authority. Altogether, Freed spent three hours at the London airport in an effort to see Winston but had no success. However, John Gollan, General Secretary, CP of Great Britain, following a plea to British immigration authorities, utilizing humanitarian grounds, finally did succeed in getting British approval allowing him, Gollan, to talk to Winston to determine if he had any additional needs.

While in London, Freed did see and talk to John Gollan and other British CP leaders. However, contrary to some reports, he has not had any recent contact with Palmire Togliatti, General Secretary of the Italian CP. Regarding Togliatti, Freed

did note that Gellan had remarked that he had recently spoken to Togliatti and that he had also spoken to Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the CP of France.

Freed indicated he intended to remain in Canada until April 5, 1964, or at the latest April 6, 1964, and then return by air to Prague. His wife had not accompanied him to Canada as they were unable to raise sufficient foreign currency to cover both of their fares.

According to Freed, he had decided upon this trip to New York City in order to meet with Hall and other Party representatives because he had some matters to handle for the "World Marxist Review" and because he felt that the CP, USA might be interested in some of the information he had regarding the current international situation within the movement and also because he felt they might be interested in the results of his recent trip to Indonesia.

When first meeting Hall, Freed advised that individual that Hall is considered by the CP of the Soviet Union, as well as by the other Parties in the Socialist Bloc countries, as a great man and his comments and ideas are solicited.

Freed also advised that the symposium which had been scheduled by the "World Marxist Review," for Prague, on March 23, 1964, had now been temporarily postponed. When so informed, Hall advised Freed to tell the publication not to expect any American delegate to attend this symposium when and if it is re-scheduled.

C. P. member
Freed presented Hall with a letter from the "World Marxist Review" wherein it was requested that the CP, USA have Sidney Finkelstein prepare an article dealing with contemporary culture in the United States. After reading this letter containing the "World Marxist Review" request, Hall noted that he would not suggest or go along with the idea that Finkelstein author such an article. Hall stated he had had some recent difficulties with Finkelstein and wanted the "World Marxist Review" reminded that when Premier Khrushchev came out last year against some of the writers and intellectuals in the Soviet Union, Finkelstein had openly sympathized with the writers and intellectuals. Hall, however, suggested that he had an individual in mind, V. J. Jerome, who would be competent to prepare such an article on the contemporary situation in the present-day culture in the United States. He stated he would request Jerome to accept

this task. Hall added, regarding Finkelstein, that while this individual was still a member of the CP, he personally did not feel that Finkelstein was either philosophically or theoretically a Marxist.

Hall then informed Freed that he should advise the staff of the "World Marxist Review" that there will be a new magazine issued by the Party next month entitled, "Dialogue." Joe North will serve as Editor of the publication and Party youth in New York will work on the magazine.

Hall also discussed, for Freed's benefit, the publication "Freedomways." He noted that this magazine was receiving tremendous response from the Negroes and has become something like a textbook to them. Every issue, he stated, sells out completely.

While discussing the topic of literature, Hall told Freed that sales by ~~International Publishers~~ in New York City of Marxist literature had increased some 52% in 1963 and already in 1964 sales were up 54%. While such sales were up, Hall felt the remarkable feature of this was the fact that only 11% of these total sales was to left organizations and individuals.

Freed briefed Hall regarding the recent developments in the international communist arena which he felt would be of interest to that individual. He remarked that in regard to the holding of an international conference of Communist and Workers Parties to discuss Sino-Soviet ideological differences, his Party, the CP of Canada, was against such a meeting. His Party, he noted, was also against the formation of any type of international coordinating body which would have in mind the purpose of giving common guidance to all Parties.

Hall, in turn, expressed his views on the same matter, noting that he felt, and most agreed, that there was not only a need for such an international meeting but also the need for the creation of some sort of a coordinating group. Hall also stated that he strongly felt that there should be an open stand among the international movement against the Chinese. Hall then advised that he had recently spoke to a number of people in the national leadership on the matters of a conference and an international coordinating group and his views had been favorably received. He informed Freed that he was planning to submit to the CP of the Soviet Union in the immediate future for their observations and recommendations an outline of his thoughts and suggestions

on the matter of an international meeting, thoughts regarding the formation of an international coordinating group, and what he felt should be the movement's attitude regarding the Chinese. Hall then permitted Freed to review notes made of his remarks in which he had brought up the subject of an international conference, the formation of an international coordinating body, etc., and he also showed Freed the outline which he intended to submit to the CP of the Soviet Union. When Freed had finished reviewing this material, Hall cautioned him that he must not reveal the fact that he had seen this material or disclose, in any way, its contents at least for the present time and until such time as the reaction of the CP of the Soviet Union has been received concerning his ideas.

Freed informed Hall that he brought with him from Canada certain apologies of his Party's leadership for having intervened last year in getting Hall to tone down certain of his arguments which he was intending to publish relative to the Chinese. He noted that the CP of Canada leadership now realizes, based on their own experience, that Hall's estimate at that time had been borne out and was correct. Freed then remarked that in discussion with John Gollan during the stop-over in London, Gollan had remarked that he was proud that his Party had not been diverted by the CP of the Soviet Union - CP of China differences. Hall's comment, as to this, was that in his opinion the British Party had nothing to be proud of in avoiding the principled ideological fight of the CP of the Soviet Union against the Chinese.

The matter was also raised during discussions with Freed that no one in the CP, USA had either seen or received any of the new bulletins or supplements which the "World Marxist Review" is now supposed to be issuing. The CP, USA would like to receive such material and in view of this Freed agreed that upon his return to Prague he would make some arrangements in this regard. It was also decided that the "World Marxist Review" should send 300 copies of each of the bulletins or supplements which the "World Marxist Review" is now supposed to be issuing to World Books in New York City, 50 copies of this material to the Modern Book Store in Chicago, and 50 copies of this material to the Los Angeles book store. Freed was furnished with the addresses of these literature outlets which he was to take back to the "World Marxist Review."

Discussion also took place regarding reimbursement to the CP, USA for the costs of mailing in this country copies of the "World Marxist Review" to certain universities and colleges and other non-Party people based on an agreement reached earlier with the publication. Mailings of the "World

Marxist Review" are now being carried on on a regular basis in the United States. In connection with this project, Freed was given a bill of \$330.48 which represents the monthly costs of such mailings. He was requested to take this matter up at the "World Marxist Review" and request reimbursement on behalf of the CP, USA and to make arrangements for such reimbursement on a regularly scheduled basis.

Freed also at this time turned over to Childs \$63.00 which he stated he brought with him from Prague as money representing royalties due from the "World Marxist Review" to Henry Winston.

In connection with Winston, Freed indicated that out of respect he felt he should possibly call on Winston since he was in New York City. This matter was discussed with Hall and at his suggestion it was decided that it would be inadvisable to make such a contact considering the circumstances under which this visit was being made. Hall premised Freed that there would be no embarrassment to that individual for his failure to see Winston because there was actually no need for Winston to learn that Freed had been in the city.

In regard to his own Party, Freed told Hall that there were some problems resulting from differences which have been coming up between the older membership and the youth. In addition, he remarked that Leslie Morris, the General Secretary, has some serious problems because of his failure to get out among the membership. Morris, according to Freed, is not the dynamic leader that Tim Buck was. Buck had been extremely popular among the membership and was constantly out among the people while Morris, being a competent person, seems to be content to put in his day's work and then go home. While this is not jeopardizing Morris' overall position, it is causing some complaints.

It was also agreed during discussions between Childs and Freed, that if Childs should perhaps come to Canada for the forthcoming National Convention or at any time prior to Freed's departure in early April, 1964, Childs could contact Freed at the following address and telephone number in Toronto:

34 Wells Street
telephone number WM 3-3776

During final discussions with Freed held on March 13, 1964, Childs brought a message from Hall. In this message

Hall wanted Freed told that he had been prepared to spend far more time with that individual but that Freed's late arrival in the city and Hall's previous commitments, such as meetings with youth, National Board, etc., had made this impossible. Hall wanted his appreciation expressed to Freed for having made this trip to discuss matters of mutual interest.

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: March 24, 1964

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: TOUR OF GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IN
DECEMBER, 1963, BY COMMUNIST PARTY
REPRESENTATIVES FROM EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA
AND CANADA

*3/24/64
delivered
OSTS*

P 3

The following information was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

During December, 1963, a group of Communist Party representatives from Europe, Latin America and Canada spent ten days in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) attending a symposium of the "World Marxist Review," theoretical organ of the world communist movement, and touring the country as guests of the GDR. The group visited many industrial cities and learned that the GDR had initiated a program of making incentive payments to workers in order to increase production. As a result, over-all production has increased substantially.

The group learned that there are other minority parties working in coalition with the ruling Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Such minority party representation was found in local governments as well as in the national government. In talking to some of the people affiliated with these coalition parties it was learned that many had been ex-Nazis who returned to Germany after the war, renounced Nazism, and joined the coalition parties.

The group noted that many factories in East Berlin and other cities were being operated on a "50-50 basis" with private owners. This was particularly true in the optical

BY COURIER SVC.
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51 MAR 25
COMM-FBI

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- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

REC-13

100-428091-3727

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~~TOP SECRET~~

MAR 25 3 25 PM '64

SEE NOTE, PAGE 3

GROUP 1
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65 MAR 27 1964

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

and photographic industries. In talking to some of these owners, it was learned that they were doing better now than they had done before because now if they run short of capital, all that is required is to go to the government and get more. The owners noted that the government could not turn them down on such requests since the government has a fifty per cent investment in the business.

In regard to the Christmas, 1963, visits by friends and families from West Germany with relatives in the GDR, it was learned that those in the GDR had written to friends and relatives in West Germany telling them they were starving and needed food and other necessities of life. As a result, when these relatives and friends came from West Germany at Christmas they brought with them food and other goods. However, what many GDR residents at this time did was to remove most of the material goods they possessed from their homes. They hid their food in an effort to show their visiting friends and relatives how poor they were supposed to be. Eventually, this fraud was exposed both by the government and the people. For example, the government went out of its way to stock all of the stores and at this time almost anything could be purchased at controlled prices. When the visitors found things and conditions were not as bad as had been pictured in the GDR, and that the people lived differently than had been portrayed by the West German Government and press, these West Germans came back to West Germany and attacked their government and press for spreading false stories about the GDR. All in all, the Christmas visits to the GDR created a generally more favorable impression of the GDR in the minds of most West German citizens.

On political matters, the visiting group met with leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany which included such individuals as Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary, and Otto Grotewohl, Chairman of the Council of Ministers. These and other Party leaders emphasized to the visiting group that they should not "push" the Soviet Union, Great Britain, or the United States for a German peace treaty. It was explained to the group that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the GDR feel that this problem will be solved

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

by the Germans themselves. It was further explained that some day in the future representatives of the GDR and West Germany will get together and discuss the formation of a German Federation or even a German Union. Such an arrangement would permit the GDR and West Germany to continue their own forms of government in the present areas. Therefore, the leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany indicated to the visiting group that communists and Communist Parties in other lands should not overemphasize the question of the German peace treaty. In addition, these leaders suggested to the visiting group that the question of self-determination for the German people not be emphasized. They remarked that most Europeans do not want a unified Germany, and most Europeans breathe a sigh of relief when the two Germanies are not together. Therefore, the leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany repeated that there must be a de-emphasis on the question of a united Germany.

- 1 - Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans
- 1 - Director, Office of Security
U. S. Information Agency

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source is CG 5824-S* who is referred to as sources in order to further protect his identity. See Chicago airtel 3-17-64 captioned "Solo, IS-C" which discloses that CG 5824-S* obtained this information from Norman Freed, functionary of the Communist Party of Canada.

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- 1- Liaison
- 1- Mr. R.W. Smith
- 1- Mr. Shaw

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: March 23, 1964

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*3/24/64
delivered
OHB*

A source which has furnished reliable information in the past recently advised that the Communist Party, USA, has been invited to send a delegation to a Conference of Working Women which is scheduled to be held during the period of May 11 through 16, 1964, in Prague, Czechoslovakia. This conference is being sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions, a communist-dominated organization.

Because of the sensitive nature of our source, we have classified this communication "~~Top Secret~~."

1- Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

REC-13 100-428091 3728

1- Mr. J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

5 MAR 25 1964

EX-114

BY COURIER SVC.
51 MAR 25
COMM-FBI

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the nation. Source is CG 5824-S*. See Chicago airtel 3-17-64 captioned "Solo, IS-C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

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65 MAR 27 1964

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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- 1- Liaison
- 1- Mr. R.W. Smith
- 1- Mr. Shaw

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: March 23, 1964

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FIRST INTERNATIONAL

4/24/64 delivered

The following information was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

The celebration in connection with the 100th Anniversary of the First International will open with a small affair in London, England, during September, 1964, and immediately thereafter the festivities will be transferred to the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The GDR will act in the capacity of official host for the entire celebration. Although the First International was founded in London, England, it is felt that the foregoing plans are acceptable because the founder of the First International, Karl Marx, was of German origin and, therefore, it is only logical that the GDR honor him in this way.

Solo

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BY COURIER SVC
CCOM
51 MAR 25 1964
COMM - FBI

ST-119 REC-16 100-428091-3729

19 MAR 25 1964

Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

Q W 1964

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize the source who is furnishing information on a top-level basis concerning the international communist movement. Source is CG 5824-S* who is referred to in letter as "sources" in order to further protect his identity. See Chicago airtel 3-17-64 captioned "Solo, IS-C."

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(IS) 100-428091

Date: March 24, 1964

- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW"
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

The following information was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

The Communist Party (CP) of Indonesia has agreed to translate the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the world communist movement, into the Irian language and, thereafter, publish and distribute it in Indonesia. The CP of Indonesia also intends to translate into Irian and publish the "Peking Review," an official publication of the CP of China. The scheduled date for the translation and publication of both of these items by the CP of Indonesia is May 1, 1964.

1 - Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

100-428091-3730

19 MAR 24 1964

BY COURIER SVC.
50 MAR 24
COMM-FBI

NOTE

Classified "~~Secret~~" because disclosure of this information to unauthorized persons would jeopardize the source, who is furnishing information on a top-level basis concerning the international communist movement. Source is CG 5824-S*. See Chicago airtel 3/17/64 captioned "Solo, IS-C." CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in letter to further protect his security. (Note, continued, page two)

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Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

NOTE: CONTINUED

SA Washington Field Office, who handles translation of languages spoken in Indonesia, advised that Irian is one of the languages spoken in Indonesia.

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b7c

- 2 -

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VIA COURIER

Date: 3-20-64

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile : 100-340711)

esa

Attention : _____

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

(100-801)

Title JACK CHILDS <i>o solo</i>	Character IS - C Reference Telephone call 12-30-63, from Assistant Director William C. Sullivan.
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Enclosed are the following communications received from the RCMP: Original and two copies of [] letter dated 3-19-64.

Remarks: b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-340711-548

Dissemination

- May be made as received
- May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure
- May not be made without further clearance with []

b7D

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

New York

Status with this office:

- RUC
- Pending
- 3 - Bureau (1 cc - New York)
(Enc. 3)
- MLI:jhc
(3)

ENCLOSURE

Do not write in space below			
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65 APR 7 1964 *FHY*